



Conflict Resolution for the Middle East: Sectarian Rapprochement

Cuneyt Yenigun*

Abstract

Among the others, sectarian issue is the main reason of the Middle East Conflicts. Religion is still the most effective factor on people's lives in the region. So, the most important actors in the region is clerics and religion scholars to (un)justify politics and In this picture clerics are the first responsible actors of the sectarian issues in the region; because their provocative interpretations yield states and paramilitary groups to flame and escalate the current conflicts. Hence, to solve the conflict, first step should start from the roots which are clerics. They should take positive action and give constructive fatwas for the other sect(s). Herewith, hatred among the sects will mislay justification point and slowly (maybe quickly in non-violent areas) brotherhood will resurrect and it will reflect to the governments as rapprochement demands from the bottom. In this study, Middle East conflict resolution is built up in seven de-escalation steps: Constructive interpretations (Fatwa), rapprochement in domestic level, yielding and reflecting demands from people to the state, positive response from state to intra-state level, deterrence in interstate level, tolerance in international public diplomacy and rapprochement among regional peoples. In this resolution process, Middle East Clerics Union is the first and most important step, Middle East Union is the last, long-term, and ideal one. As a last and long term prediction, the country which can lead this peace process and sectarian approach may become the natural regional leader of the Middle East

Keywords: Conflict Theory, Middle East Conflict, Sectarian Issues, Conflict Resolution, Middle East Union, Middle East Clerics Union.

* Assoc. Prof., College of Economics and Political Science, Sultan Qaboos University, cuneytyeni3@gmail.com



Ortadoğu'da Çatışma Çözümü: Mezhepsel Yakınlaşma

Cüneyt Yeniğün*

Öz

Ortadoğu çatışmaları on altı on yedi başlık altında kategorize edilebilmekle birlikte özellikle son yirmi yıldaki tüm sorunların ana-kökü mezhepsel sorunlara bağlanmaktadır. Bölgedeki günlük yaşamda din, bölge halkları arasındaki hala en önemli faktör ve din adamları da bölgede uygulanan politikaları meşrulaştır(ma)mada konusunda en önemli aktörler olarak öne çıkmaktadır. İşte bu çerçevede özellikle marjinal alimler, bölgedeki mezhepsel sorunların ana sorumluları olmaktadır; çünkü onların, provokatif, rijit ve saldırgan fetvaları bölgede savaşı hükümet ve paramiliter grupların çatışmacı politikalarına izin vermekte ve/veya meşruiyet sağlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada bölgedeki sorunları çözmek için çatışma çözümü teorisinin pratiğe uygulanmasına çalışılmış ve en etkin yöntemlerden biri kullanılmıştır: Sorunun kökünü oluşturan özden yani rijit ulema fetvalarından başlayarak yedi adımlı bir yumuşama (de-escalation) önerilmiştir. İlk olarak Ortadoğu'daki Şii, Sünni (hatta İbadi) alimler biraya gelerek ortak yapıcı fetvalar vermelidir. Bu sırada kurulacak olan "Ortadoğu Alimler Birliği" orta vadeli dönemde Ortadoğu'nun barış ortamının sağlanması ve Ortadoğu'nun yeniden yükselmesinin en önemli katalizörü olacaktır. Diğer adımlar sırasıyla, bu fetvaların bölgedeki çatışan halklar arasında kısa ve orta vadede barış ve toleransın yayılması, ortak yaşamın gelişmesi, halklardan hükümetlere barış politikaları taleplerinin yansması, hükümetlerin barışçıl politika ve kanunlar ile dönüşümü, bu politikaların hem iç, hem de uluslararası ortama pozitif klasik ve kamu diplomasisi olarak yansması, devletler ve bölge halkları arasında (ve hatta STK'lar arasında) barışın yayılması ve devletler arası yapıcı projelerin geliştirilmesi şeklinde devam etmektedir. İlk olarak mezhep sorununu başarılı ve barışçıl bir şekilde çözen devlet, diğer bölge devletlerine önce örnek sonra da "Avrupa'nın Almanyası"nda olduğu gibi bölgenin doğal lideri olacaktır. Eğer bu projeler tutarsa uzun vadede kurulacak olan "Ortadoğu Birliği" bölgenin kaderini ekonomik, sosyal ve politik açıdan yeniden şekillendirecek olan yeni aktör olacaktır.

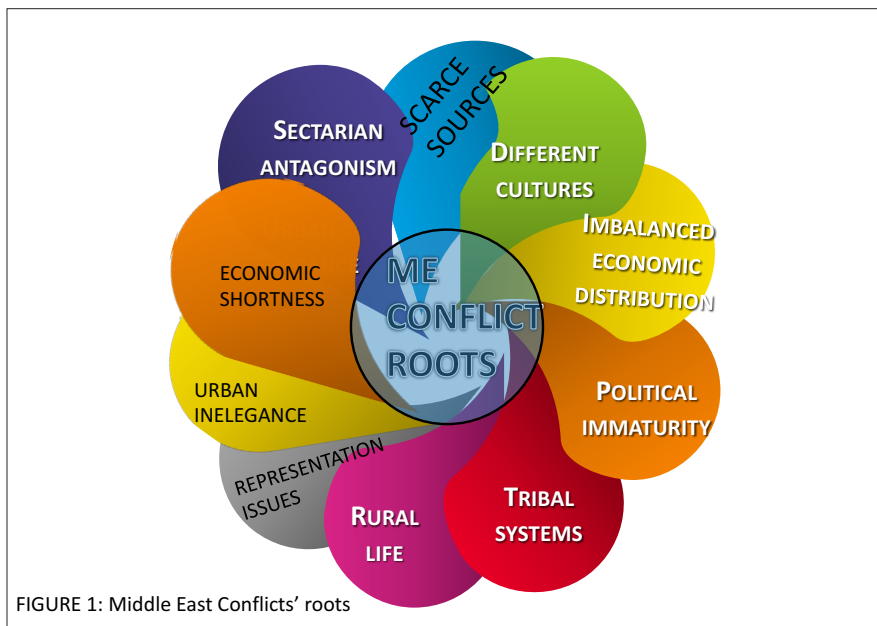
Anahtar Kelimeler: Çatışma Teorisi, Ortadoğu Sorunları, Mezhepsel Sorunlar, Çatışma Çözümü, Ortadoğu Birliği, Ortadoğu Alimler Birliği.

* Doç.Dr.,Sultan Kabus Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi Bölümü, cuneytyeni3@gmail.com

1. Introduction

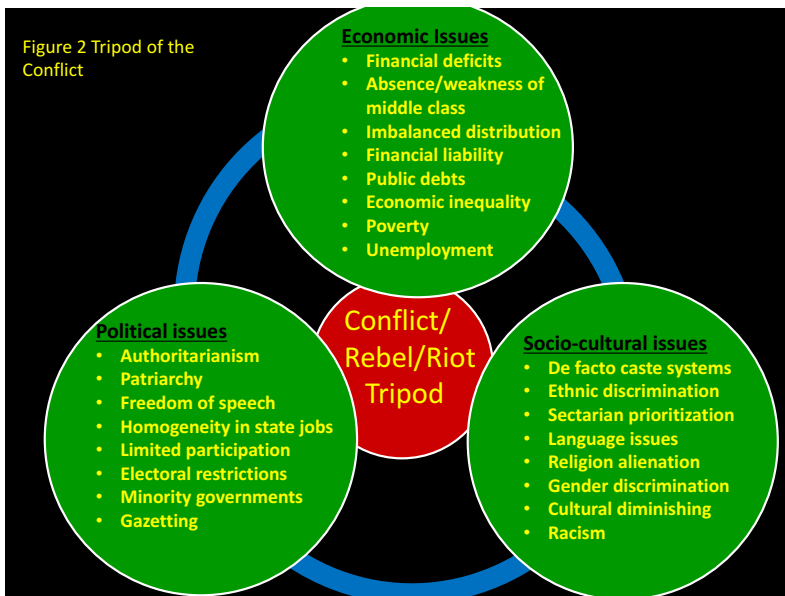
After the cold war, ethnic and sectarian conflicts replaced ideological conflicts in the world arena. In the first decade after the cold war micro-nationalism and ethnic conflicts were seen in the former communist regions and Africa. In the third decade of the new world order, today, conflicts have shifted to the Middle East by changing its mask from micro-nationalism to sectarianism. Although Middle East had faced domestic and inter-state conflicts during the Cold War, those could be synthesized as conflicts between ideology and power politics. Today almost all scholars agree upon that the Middle East is actually and potentially the most confliction area after the casualties reached two millions (especially in Iraq and Syria) in the region.

There are several reasons for the conflicts within the region: economic shortages, political immaturity, imbalanced economic distribution, religious and sectarian heterogeneity, different cultures, tribal system, rural life, scarce sources, urban inelegance, and so on. Thus, a closer look into the conflicted areas within intra-state and/or inter-state level, it could be said that the most crucial issue is the raising sectarian antagonism among the other factors.



2. Tripod of Conflicts

In today's modern life, domestic conflicts arise from three main factors; initially economic issues such as financial deficits, imbalanced distribution, absence/weakness of the middle class, financial liability, public debt, economic inequality, inequality in opportunity, poverty, and unemployment are the first factors. Socio-cultural issues such as de facto caste systems (segregating groups), ethnic discrimination, sectarian prioritizing, philistinism, language issues, religion alienation, gender discrimination, cultural diminishing, state pressure against people's culture, racism are the second factors. Lastly, political issues such as authoritarianism, patriarchy, participation, freedom of speech, gazetting, limited participation, electoral restrictions, minority governments, homogeneity in state jobs are the third factor.



If one of those (political, Economic or socio-cultural) categories occurs in the Euro-Atlantic zone countries, it will be enough reason to see strikes and riots in the streets. For example in Italy, Spain or Greece only economic issues triggered reasons for riots and internal conflicts on the streets. Even in developed countries less than one economic issue is enough reason to go to streets. For example raising US stamps by one cent became a reason for

street strikes in Florida in 1999 (From 32 cents to 33 cents). In the Muslim countries, specifically in the Middle East, at least two factors, sometimes three factors initiated strikes or riots. For example in Tunisia, for 24 years of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (1987-2011), there were dramatic economic issues, deep socio-cultural issues, especially from pressure of alienation to religion (going to mosques until eighteen, wearing scarf and almost all practices of religion were forbidden) and political issues (prioritizing only pro-western people in all level of state, hierarchy, manipulated elections and minority governments), but people had high level of patience because of Islamic interpretation not to riot for a long time. Key process factor here is how governments reply to the people's demands. If governments reshape their policies according to people's demand, conflicts could de-escalate; otherwise they are prone to escalate dramatically like in Tunisia.

In Euro-Atlantic Zone: (1 reason; for example :) Economic issue → Chaos (If government does not respond) → Conflict

In the Middle East: (2 or 3 Reasons) Economic issue + Socio-Cultural issue (Sometimes) + Political Issue → Chaos (If government does not respond) → Conflict

2.1. Roots of the Middle East Conflict

When we take a look to the other parts of the Arab world (except Northern Africa) economic issues are relatively very low; political issues are very low or low; but socio-cultural issues in specific, lesser ethnic issues (Iraq, Lebanon) but especially sectarian issues have been continuing. For example Yemen, Iraq and Syria are in sectarian-civil wars. They look like intra-state wars but also some other countries are in the region indirectly (Indirect war) or by using tools (proxy war) in those countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Qatar, UAE, Lebanon US, UK, Egypt and so on. So those "civil wars" have already been internationalized. In addition to this, it is true or not, some countries' perceptions of threat are based on sectarianism which are counted potential inter-state conflicts such as Iran- Bahrain, Iran- Saudi Arabia, Iran-Qatar. As a third type potential sectarian wars in the Middle East are in the Pandora's Box, such as Lebanon, Iran and Azerbaijan. GCC

countries has labeled Hezbollah as “terrorist group” in March 2016¹. All these examples show that the first and the most important problem among the others in the Middle East is socio-cultural issues in general, sectarian issue in its core or root.

Unlike Euro-Atlantic countries, religion is still a justification point and the most effective factor in people’s life in the Middle East. Propriety, blot, honor and code of ethics are derived from religion in the Middle East. Even in Turkey as a unique successful secularist state among the other Muslim countries, religion is the first important justification point on labeling any act as “right” or “wrong”. Or in long-term coerced laicist countries like Algeria, Tunisia or Egypt, similar situations could be seen in standard lives. In the figure 3, it looks like state/government is higher authority than the religious leaders in the legal system, but in practical life, religion and clerics are the most effective factors and actors. It is a fact that tradition and custom are more effective than the written regulations and law in real life; and religion is the root of tradition and ethnicity in the Middle East.

At this point, interpretation of the holy scripts and resources is taking the main role on the shoulders of the clerics who are hidden shapers of the social life and understanding of the other sects and religions. Because interpretations and their consequences in the practical life could be constructive or destructive. In general, within the all great world religions, interpretations and traditions can be co-opted to legitimate violence, but also deep resources for promoting non-violent conflict resolution and peace. Religious interpretations can be used to sharpen exclusive identities and lend conviction and passion to destructive social/political programs. But it also could be used as a source of mutual understanding for reconciliation and human fellowships in modern societies.² Unfortunately, in the last century, traditional practice of “ijtihad” which means the continuous and evolving interpretations of the Quran (and hadith) has declined and been replaced by narrow interpretations³ according to two main sectarian differences. One

¹ Asa Fitch and Dana Ballout, “Gulf Cooperation Council Labels Hezbollah a Terrorist Group” *The Wall Street Journal*, 2 March 2016.

² Oliver Ramsbotam, Tom Woodhouse, Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Third Ed., Polity Press, Cambridge, 2012, p. 341.

³ Abu Nimer Muhammed, *Non-violence and Peacebuilding in Islam*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2003, p. 156.

side takes a lot of hadiths out, and the other side ignores very important verses (ayah) related to killing coreligionists is forbidden. Now is the time for the Muslim scholars and clerics to engage process of critical re-examination of their recent exegesis and to identify a rich tradition of non-violent conflict management ideas and practices from their rich history and scripts, because this is vital in the quest for appropriate responses to the political and confliction challenges in the region.

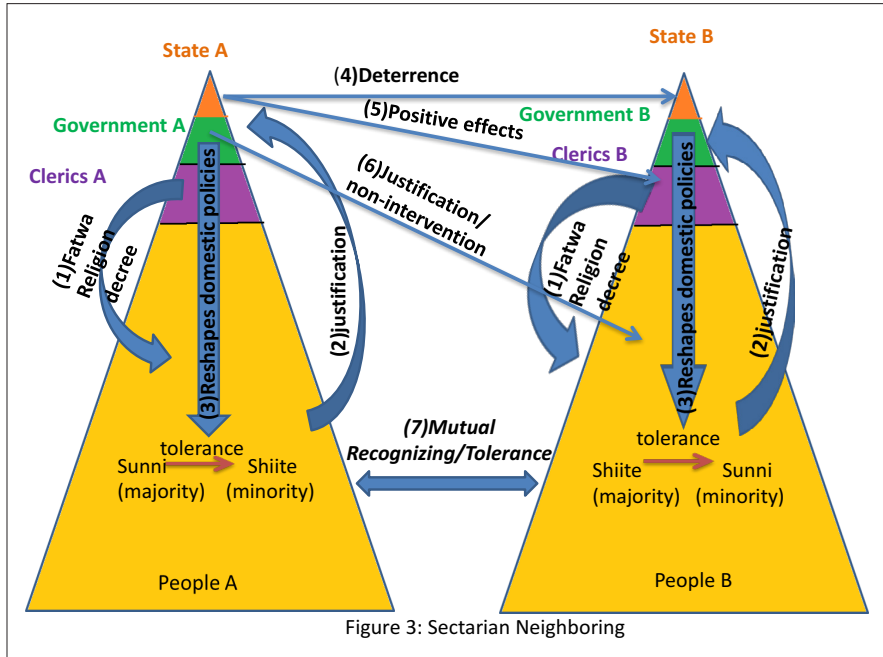


Figure 3: Sectarian Neighboring

In the proposed figure, process starts from the core of issue in the actor level. It looks like states are on the top of the order, but justification points of the state /government policies and thinking style of the people come from religious interpretations in the Middle East. So, according to this fact, the first responsible actors of the Middle East issues are clerics and scholars. That's why solving point of the issue should start from the roots of understanding of Islam by the people. If scholars give constructive interpretations on behalf of other sect, people's tendency and justification points will be shaped accordingly (majority of the people in a short term and rigid far sides in the mid-term). It will cause majority and minority tolerance and mutual understanding in domestic level. Majority of the people's general demand will reflect to government and state, then governments will reshape

their domestic policies according to people's demand, because today any government including Middle Eastern governments cannot ignore people's pressure and demand anymore. This policy will lessen domestic sectarian diversification in legal and practical life. People A's pressure triggered by Clerics A, will also reflect State A's foreign affairs as deterrence in sectarian policies in the international level with State B, otherwise states will lose their legitimacy and justification in their foreign policies. In the longer term, State A will/should establish peaceful public diplomacy with People B. All those will lead People A and People B converging and rapprochement in today's borderless world.

3. Conflict Resolution in Sectarian Issue

Conflict resolution in the Middle East should start firstly from the root of the conflicts which is rigid sectarian antimonies and discrepancies. It could be shaped with six steps: Just/right interpretations (Fatwa), ceasefire, negotiation table, socio-cultural reconciliation projects, state-level agreements and unison in long-term. In the first step, Sunni and Shiite (and maybe Ibadi) scholars and clerics should give fatwa individually to stop the belligerence on the ground. To do this there are a lot of sources in Quran and hadith to base their fatwa such as "sedition is worse than committing murder"⁴, "If you do stretch thy hand against me, to slay me, it is not for me to stretch my hand against thee to slay thee: for I do fear Allah, the cherisher of the worlds."⁵ In Sahih Bukhari the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) says "(religious) knowledge will be taken away (by the death of religious scholars) ignorance (in religion) and afflictions will appear; and Harj will increase." It was asked, "What is Harj, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied by beckoning with his hand indicating "killing."⁶ The Prophet said to me during Hajjat-al-Wida': Let the people keep quiet and listen. Then he said (addressing the people), "Do not (become infidels) revert to disbelief after me by striking the necks (cutting the throats) of one another (killing each other)."⁷ Not to use war for the sake of ruling or power-politics: Ibn 'Umar came to us and a man said (to him), "What do you think about 'Qit-alal-

⁴ Holy Quran, 2: 191; 2:217.

⁵ Holy Quran, 5:28.

⁶ Sahih- Bukhari, Volume 1, Book 3, Number 85.

⁷ Sahih- Bukhari, Volume 1, Book 3, Number 122.

Fitnah' (fighting caused by afflictions)." Ibn 'Umar said (to him), "And do you understand what an affliction is? Muhammad used to fight against the pagans, and his fighting with them was an affliction, (and his fighting was) not like your fighting which is carried on for the sake of ruling"⁸ Even there is no need to give additional fatwa to stop the blood, but it is enough to repeat or remind very explicit hadiths and verses to the average people. Those kind of fatwas and speeches should be announced first individually by the Sunni and Shiite scholars and specifically clerics. And as a second part of the first step and more importantly both denominations' clerics should gather and establish a Middle East Clerics Union (MECU) or World Muslim Clerics Union (WMCU) and announce common fatwas about "fighting is forbidden", "killing Muslims is a reason for going to hell". Maybe MECU is the biggest misery of the Muslim world and causes bloody conflicts in the region. Although International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) was established in 2004 in Qatar and claims to bring together Sunni, Shiite and Ibadi Muslims and mediated in Kyrgyzstan between minorities, in practice it looks like far from representing all sects. Shiite scholars do not attend the meetings; UAE recognized it as "terrorist group" etc. If the Middle East peoples see unity and solidarity among the Sunni- Shiite clerics and hear common fatwas, sectarian conflicts will diminish greatly. Because warring parties, belligerents and paramilitary groups will lose legitimacy and justification among the people; money, logistic support and resources in men will be cut off critically. This will be second phase of the proposed conflict resolution. In this step, even if some states continue their proxy or indirect wars, this will not continue for a long time because state policies will lose legitimacy and justification too. Because as a reminder again, state law is still less effective than custom and tradition in majority of the world, especially in the Middle East. And in the core of the tradition is still shaped by religious rules in the Middle East. MECU will serve later, as mediator and also perhaps as arbitrator in negotiation table and advisor in socio-cultural reconciliation projects.

In the third step, if all means of support (money, logistic, intelligence etc.) cut off, there is not many other alternatives for warring parties except coming to the negotiation table. All (legal) sides should come to the negotiation table to find an appropriate solution for mutual acceptance.

⁸ Sahih- Bukhari, Volume 6, Book 60, Number 174.

MECU could serve as mediator (bringing solution alternatives to the table) or arbitrator (third party--ad hoc entrust dispute for binding solution). It would be seen as a dream to the regional states in today's turmoil, but third party religious mediations and arbitration succeeded great achievements in other parts of the world recently. Because in contrast with politicians, religious leaders carry moral and persuasive ability. Quakers, Brethren and other peace churches have carried good mediation samples. The World Council of Churches (WCC) mediated in Sudanese conflict.⁹ WCC spent years building up trust with the two combatants, eventually led to the Addis Ababa Agreement of March 1972 ending the conflict. Pope's noteworthy arbitration (binding decree) between Chile and Argentina on Beagle Channel was another successful story. The Papal mediation in the Beagle conflict followed the failure of negotiations between Chile and Argentina, when the Argentinian Junta started operation to invade disputed islands awarded to Chile by the Beagle Channel Arbitration. Argentina, in acceptance of the authority of the Pope John Paul II called off the military operation and accepted the arbitration. In 1979 Chile and Argentina signed the Act of Montevideo formally requesting mediation by the Vatican and renouncing the use of force. Arbitration and Pope's decision was accepted at the end of the fourth phase in 1984. Pope's arbitration is ascribed to his highly respected moral and religious authority. Catholic Lay Group, The Community of Sant'Egidio mediated successfully between warring parties in Mozambican Civil War and was able to bring parties to negotiation table in 1991 in that its relief activities gained the trust of all sides along with its informal and nonthreatening status.

One of the most important goals of the Middle East negotiation should be to establish a state structure by respecting socio-cultural, and sectarian differences in conflicted countries, in Yemen, Iraq and Syria. Representation from parliament to the municipalities should be ensured among all sectarian parties. Actually mediation and arbitration are mentioned in many verses in Quran such as "O David! We did indeed make thee a vicegerent on earth: so judge thou between men in truth (and justice): Nor follow thou the lusts (of thy heart), for they will mislead thee from the Path of Allah"¹⁰. As seen

⁹ Ho-Won Jeong, *Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, New York, 2010, p. 186, 187.

¹⁰ Holy Quran, 38:26.

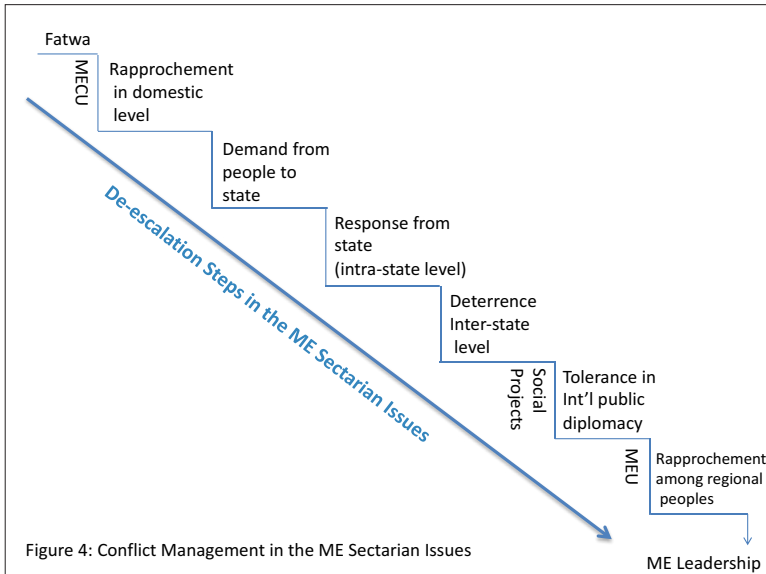
in this verse, (mediating and) arbitrating with just is obligatory order from Allah to the Sunni and Shiite clerics. In addition to this, both techniques have been used in the Middle East for a long time as regional tradition and strong custom which is called “hakam”. Even today hakam from regional religious leaders is used in and between the tribes (ashirat) before going to court in national levels and mostly all issues are solved on this level as arbitration tool.

Fourth step could be ensured post-conflict phases, socio-cultural reconciliation projects in those three warring countries firstly. In those type of conflicts like in the Middle East, in overcoming violence and building peaceful relations, fractured social bodies need to be reconstructed. The remnant of deep divisions among sectarian communities based on fear and anger creates serious challenges to putting a broken social fabric back together. Reconciliation activities need to be set in the context of overcoming marginalization, alienation and other social effects of violent conflict in such post-conflict processes. Especially in the old battlefield areas such as Yemen, Iraq and especially Syria, re-humanizing the enemy, preventing the cycle of historical enmity, empathy and ensuring social justice are the important factors in reconciliation. Implementable reconciliation should focus not only on substantive issues but also on the restoration of the relationships. Restoration of a broken relationship is made possible by acknowledging past misdeeds, exploring common purposes and respecting the other sides interests.¹¹ Among the other potential or indirect enmities in the region, such as between Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Qatar, UAE, Azerbaijan, Lebanon and the others, some practical templates could be used in socio-cultural reconciliation projects. Those could be student and faculty exchange programs, TV serials, Sunni-Shite friendship subjected movies, music and youth festivals. Mutual and joint trips, developing NGOs and civil society groups in public level will help to rapprochement Sunni- Shiite peoples in the region.

Further actions could be taken in inter-state level step by step with friendship agreements, coordination, cooperation in coping with the sectarian issues jointly and establishing Middle East Union (MEU) in the region in mid/long term. In the new world order today, almost all regions

¹¹ Jeong, *ibid*, 214-217.

have their own regional organizations; European Union (EU), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market of South America (MERCOSUR), Central American Parliament, NATO, African Union (AU), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and so on. Although Middle East has some regional organizations such as Arab League (AL) and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) unfortunately those are far from to take necessary actions to end current conflicts in the region because of short institutional constitution, non-effective decision making systems, heavy bureaucracy and some other structural reasons. First economic, socio-cultural and political cooperation should be improved to ameliorate regional issues, it should transform from cooperation to union level to work together in regional issues.



Which country could first achieve sectarian peace domestically, it means this country solved the main problem of the Middle East. For example Turkey has taken important steps in sectarian rapprochement in intra-state such as Allawi sheikhs were taken to Hajj performance by state expense, many Allawi civil society groups were newly established, state/government holds regular meetings with Allawi leaders and NGOs, Allawi foundations joint declarations were announced, there is no homogeneity in state jobs according to sectarian differences and Turkish Parliament has many Allawi

MPs, maybe more representative number than their portion in the country. Those could be samples and templates for the regional countries.

The country solves sectarian issues in domestic level, it will be main potential leader of the region like Germany in Europe. Germany's story could be a perfect sample to the Middle East. It is true that Germany has achieved economic miracle, established heavy industry, hard-working culture, high level of R/D, perfect governance, modern democracy, founding the EU (ECSC, 1951) and successful diplomacy. But maybe the most important success of the new German state was cultural achievement in domestic and regional level. Long lasting issues of Germany and Europe was based on sectarian issues embedded in ethnic diversities.¹² She established Christian Democrat Union for the first time in it's and Europe's history to remove sectarian issue in the domestic level in 1949. Until that day, German history was tied up with ethno-religionist issues, wars and conflicts for 300 years. This political invention accelerated national integrity and became natural sample to all Europe which was in trouble for a long time sometimes by sectarian violence, sometimes in silent mode. For the first time, Europe witnessed real peace between two main sects not by secularism or eliminating attempts unlike France, but accepting and respecting both undeniable cultural facts of Germany. This sectarian policy brought integrity, peace and mutual respect to German social-political life and this success was seen by the other European states by desire. They did not wait long, Germany carried same sectarian peace to the European Parliament. Although it was seen as Catholic Social Teaching in 19th century, it was transformed as unification point of two sects in Europe. All tangible development and powers of Germany are undeniable and necessary to be a leader of most developed region in the world, but without bringing a solution to the most important issue of Europe, it was not possible to be accepted and legitimized leader: Coining sectarian unification mentality and establishing Christian Democrats to solve Europe's long lasting issue. Today whoever solves the most destructive issue which is sectarian segregation may become the accepted leader of the Middle East.

¹² Cuneyt Yenigun, "Regional Power of the Middle East", in Reyyan Dogan, *Sects, Ethnicity and Conflict Resolution*, TASAM Publication, Istanbul, 2016, 426-427.

4. Conclusion

Sectarian issue is the most crucial problem and root of all types of Middle East Conflicts (direct wars, indirect wars, proxy wars and potential conflicts). Main core of this root (sectarian conflicts) is rigid interpretations and discriminative understandings of the religions' principles. At first appearance, states would be seen felons with their power politics as main international actors but this study alleges that the main responsible actors are clerics and spiritual scholars. Hence states are the highest authority in internal level and main actor in international arena, Middle East peoples' value of judgments like Latin Americans and Africans, shape in accordance with ecclesiastical rules, interpretations and ethical norms. In this picture clerics are the first responsible actors of the sectarian issues in the region; because their impulsive, sometimes provocative interpretations or silent positions yield states and peoples to escalate the current conflicts. Hence, to solve regional conflicts, first step of the conflict resolution should start from clerics. They have to take positive steps and give constructive fatwas for the other sect(s). Herewith, hatred among the sects will mislay justification point and slowly (maybe quickly in non-violent areas) brotherhood will resurrect and it will reflect to the governments as rapprochement demands from the bottom. Any type of government cannot be indifferent to the people's demand today. Then it will responded by states positively in intra-state (among the sects) and interstate (as deterrence and tolerance) level.

In this study, Middle East conflict resolution is built up in seven de-escalation steps: Constructive interpretations (Fatwa), rapprochement in domestic level, yielding and reflecting demands from people to the state, positive response from state to intra-state level, deterrence in interstate level, tolerance in international public diplomacy (State A- People B) and rapprochement among regional peoples. In this resolution process, Middle East Clerics Union is the first and most important step, Middle East Union as the last, long-term, and ideal highest stage are identified. As a last and long term prediction, the country which can lead this peace process and sectarian approach may become the natural regional leader of the Middle East.

Bibliography

Asa Fitch and Dana Ballout, “Gulf Cooperation Council Labels Hezbollah a Terrorist Group” *The Wall Street Journal*, 2 March 2016.

Cuneyt Yenigun, “Regional Power of the Middle East”, in Reyyan Dogan (ed), *Sects, Ethnicity and Conflict Resolution*, TASAM Publication, Istanbul, 2016.

Holy Quran, 2: 191; 2: 217; 5: 28; 38: 26.

Ho-Won Jeong, *Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, New York, 2010.

Muhammed Abu Nimer, *Non-violence and Peacebuilding in Islam*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2003.

Oliver Ramsbotam,, Tom Woodhouse, Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Third Ed., Polity Press, Cambridge, 2012.

Sahih- Bukhari, Volume 1, Book 3, Number 85; Volume 1, Book 3, Number 122; Volume 6, Book 60, Number 174.